Fellowship

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Why do we fear the fury of the world powers? Why don't we take the power from them and give it back to Christ . . . so that the peoples will rejoice because the Church of Christ in the name of Christ has taken the weapons from the hands of their sons, forbidden war, and proclaimed the peace of Christ. . . . The trumpets of war may blow tomorrow. For what are we waiting?

—Dietrich Bonhoeffer

The Military's Shadow, by Fred Libby

The Doctrine of Perfection—I, by A. J. Muste

Hiroshima, 1950, by Floyd Schmoe

Israel's Future, by John M. Swomley, Jr.

Under Certain Conditions, by Milton Mayer

The Power of One, by Bennett Andrews

ff This is a bumper issue, with six articles on as many subjects. John M. Swomley, Jr., writes about Israel, the new nation which people have been pointing to as a victory for violence, and tells why he does not believe that it is. . . . Fred Libby, head of the National Council for the Prevention of War for many years, makes a moving appeal to the House Armed Services Committee to let the draft law expire and help the United States to lead the world toward peace. . . . Accompanying it is Floyd Schmoe's description of the still dried, cracked and shattered landscape of Hiroshima, the last war's monument. . . . A. J. Muste in this issue presents the first of a series of articles on the criticisms of pacifism, particularly those of neo-orthodoxy, and his replies to them. This one deals with Perfectionism. . . . Bennett Andrews, who lives in West Chester, Pennsylvania, *not* to be confused with Westchester County, New York, home of New York's station wagon set, writes about the all-important One. . . . and Milton Mayer tries to pin down a definition of "pacifist."

FELLOWSHIP

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21 Audubon Avenue
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A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, *International Secretary*

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*
CONSTANCE MUSTE, *Assistant Editor*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

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Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
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Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
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Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

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Subheads

Strait Way

The scramble to find a cheap and easy way out of the world's mess became even wilder with the President's announcement that the United States will try to construct a hydrogen bomb. A dozen eminent physicists pleaded with Mr. Truman to announce that this country would "never use the H-bomb first," and a New York newspaper, skipping agilely over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, commented approvingly that "it is inconceivable that the heads of a free nation would unleash the weapon." And some hundreds of scientists urged the President not to give the go-ahead signal on the bomb, warning that it would mean world destruction, but adding that "of course" they would work on the thing if the government asked them to do so.

There is no cheap and easy way. No statement about not using the bomb first will help, because any such statement would be a phony. Grant the possibility of using such a weapon at all, and it may be no more than logic to use it first. The only kind of statement that will do much good now is a statement that says we aren't going to make, much less use, the hydrogen bomb, period.

And, fellows, nobody really believes a scientist who says "Don't make this thing because it will destroy the world but if you do decide to make it I'll help."

Defense

The decision to make the H-bomb was based on a determination to "defend our free American way of life." Defenders of freedom spring up these days in the most unlikely places and, sometimes, with the most unlikely notions of what freedom is. Some of the more recent examples that come to mind are:

1. An American Legion post in New Jersey has demanded that a local nursery school stop using some "un-American" children's records. The charge is that (a) the company that makes the records used to be headed by a musician

who once conducted the chorus in the (Communist) Jefferson School of Social Science in New York; (b) the majority stockholder in the school is the attorney who is defending Valentin Gubitchev; and (c) one of the records, called "Building A City," glorifies carpenters, painters, steam-shovel operators, and other such "proletarians," and never says a word about bankers, architects, real estate operators or manufacturers.

2. Several large corporations, including Wright Aircraft and the Stewart-Warner radio company, recently have demanded that all employees sign affidavits that they have never been members of a "subversive" organization.

Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

"As I understand it, a couple of Hydrogen bombs could flatten the world . . . however, my committee favors less drastic measures, first! . . ."

3. Several ordinarily at-least-slightly-left-of-dead-center organizations like the CIO, the AF of L, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in January joined a Legion-sponsored "All-American conference" to set up a "united front against communism," and as of this date are still in it. At the conference their delegates fidgeted cheek-by-jowl with the delegates from a dozen veterans' and "patriotic" groups and listened to a bevy of speakers who included Senator Karl E. Mundt and California's State Senator Jack Tenney.

All of these good people are now equating "defending freedom" with "combating communism," and this is especially sad when it happens to such organizations as the CIO and the AF of L, and even worse when it happens to the Federal Council. Because if anybody knows it, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America ought to know that the only effective way of combating communism is by making Christianity work in the very areas where the Communists have most appeal. And that you do not lessen the appeal of the totalitarian left by forming a united front with the totalitarian right, no matter how good your motives.

Intervention

Abroad the Communists are getting it from religion, too, but there the Church is using the really direct approach. The New York *Times* reports from a town in Czechoslovakia that the cross atop the local church has taken to deep

genuflections every so often, usually winding up with a low bow in the direction of the United States. Since the miracles began, the collection box has been filled with torn-up party membership cards. The local Communist officials, understandably burned up, have arrested the priests and closed the church except for two hours on Sunday.

Elsewhere in the same country, in Western Bohemia, the hint was even less subtle. There a busload of Communist soldiers is supposed to have seen a vision of the Virgin Mary at the head of a column of American tanks and troops. The bus driver, directly rebuked by the Virgin for his political sins, was reported to be still in the hospital after six weeks, suffering from shock.

Querulous Quotes

"I have no idea what General MacArthur has in mind, but I am in accord with it," said Lt. Gen. Walton H. Walker.—*Newsweek.*

* * *

If any of our readers has had pipe dreams about heading for South America and setting up a uniform shop there . . . my advice is to stick to the good old U.S.A. . . . Except for the Military, people aren't nearly as uniform-minded in those countries as they are in the U.S. . . . I feel, however, that a superior uniform, just like a superior automobile, radio or refrigerator, is one of the fruits of our democratic way of life.

—*Salute,* a trade periodical.

* * *

"There was rough young boys from all over the country (in an old Colorado mining-camp), but they weren't really gunmen," the pioneer mining man said. "If they knew you had a gun, though, they often shot just to get in the first one. If you didn't carry a gun, nobody started shooting."

—An AP interview with Frank Stewart, 92.

* * *

In other words, the (world) federation would tell us what to do. I don't think the United States has reached the point where any federation is going to tell us, to use a slang expression, where to get off.
—Mrs. Robert O'Byrne, president-general of the D.A.R., in explaining why the organization opposes world federation.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The United States is now shipping military supplies to the French in Indo-China—part of our anti-communism, of course.

* * *

A leading British medical statistician has predicted that 1,000 years from now some children may be born imbeciles because of the Hiroshima atomic bomb.

* * *

The Boston City Council barred from its sessions a group of visiting Japanese legislators, in the United States to study democracy, on the grounds that they might be "spies."

* * *

The New Zealand *Christian Pacifist* has added a section entitled "Subheads."

FRED LIBBY, testifying against draft extension, tells Congress it stands in

The Military's Shadow

MR. CHAIRMAN *and members of the House Armed Services Committee:*

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind inquiry as to whether I was going to testify as one of the opponents of extending the Draft Law. I am glad to have the opportunity, although I will say frankly that in my opinion you would be meeting the deepest longings of the American people if you had reversed the allotments of time between the military forces and the peace forces, and given General Bradley and his colleagues five minutes each, with permission to extend their somewhat familiar and oft-repeated remarks, and given us a more adequate opportunity to state why we feel that the quiet death in June of this superfluous peacetime Draft Law should be made sure. What is it they call it now—"mercy killing"?

It looked in December as if you, Mr. Chairman, were going to be the leader in putting an end to the all-pervasive domination of the American people by the military. You were quoted in the Washington *Star* of December 4 as saying: "There isn't a chance in the world that Congress will extend the Draft Law." Representatives Kilday of Texas and Price of Illinois were quoted by the *Star* correspondent as "echoing this belief."

If I understand correctly the purposes of the great Founders o our country, your Committee wa not designed to become a rubbe stamp for the military, whose amb tion to gain control of the natio Washington and Jefferson, amon others, anticipated and feared. S they placed civilian heads over th military forces and took care to pu the nation's purse-strings in th control of our House of Represen tatives, as closest to the people.

Their fears were justifie "Crises," real or fictitious, ar necessary if the military in an country are to maintain them selves in power. An arms race pro vides a continual succession c crises. The announcement by Presi dent Truman on Navy Day, 194 when the guns of World War II ha hardly cooled, that the Unite States intended to maintain "su premacy on land, on sea, and i the air," was a challenge to Russia which Molotov was quick to tak up, and another dangerous arm race had begun.

You, Mr. Chairman, and th members of this Committee, wer reminded by Secretary Johnso last week of the steps that hav followed, the hated and unpre cedented peacetime Draft Law being one link in the chain. I March, 1947, there was proclaime the Truman Doctrine for the "con tainment" of communism, a polic which has now collapsed in Asia

as Walter Lippmann pointed out in his column of January 12. Then, last year came the Atlantic Pact, the first military alliance in our history, worthless and dangerous to its European signers during the years in which admittedly the United States cannot defend them from Soviet Russia if Russia chooses to move west, and at the same time increasing the insecurity of the United States be-

Hiroshima, 1950

WHEN *the disturbing news of the Russian atom bomb came to me, I was in Hiroshima. I looked across the miles of shacks that are mushrooming out of the urban desert left by the blast and did some thinking myself. We were told in America that about one hundred thousand people died that day. Here Mayor S. Hamai (who was then a member of the Bureau of Records,) tells me that the figure is nearer* two hundred thousand. *He says that the government withheld the true figures, and that the military casualties were never included in the totals.*

School records show that more than seven thousand school children were killed outright and twenty thousand injured, many of whom died later. I see those who survived every day on the streets —little boys and girls with great scars from burns. We notice them first on the calves of their bare legs. Most of the burns were on their backs as they had time after seeing the blinding flash to turn and shield their faces before the searing heat wave reached them. Unfortunately most Japanese school children wear dark clothing. White would have protected them more. Girls with navy blue dresses with white collars were burned everywhere but under the collars.

A Korean mother showed me her shoulders and chest—a mass of scars except where shielded by a nursing infant that died at her breast. Her four other children also died in the blast. And from my window I can look down on the granite steps of the ruined Teikoku Bank building and see a darker area, the shape of a man's seat, where some poor beggar sat and fried while the heat bleached the stone around him. Eye-witnesses tell me that "mountains" of dead were piled in every open space during the blistering hot August days that followed until it was impossible to walk in the streets for the stench; and when I visited Asano Park one evening with Koko Tanimoto she pointed to the muddy lake which is about two hundred by four hundred feet in size—perhaps an acre and a half—and said, "When I ran here after my house fell down this lake was so full of people that I could see no water in it." All the people were dead or dying. And when the fires quit burning a few days later three-fourths of a city almost as large as Portland was a blackened waste as flat as a plowed field.

—FLOYD SCHMOE

cause we are committed to try to defend our European allies for decades against the consequences of their acts, however provocative they may be.

The Atlantic Pact was followed by the "Military Aid Program," which is now being implemented. It can scarcely give France anything more substantial than another Maginot Line mentality. Yet last week you were told by Secretary Johnson that you must renew the Draft Act, because if you don't, you will "undermine the position of the military establishments of other signers to the North Atlantic Pact, who maintain mandatory national service (a nice euphemism for conscription, Mr. Chairman) under considerable political opposition within their own countries."

Mr. Chairman, this process of "manufacturing inevitability," this "government by crisis," must come to an end if our checks and balances are to be preserved, and if Congress is to prevent our Brass Hats from gaining complete control of our economy and our institutions. Secretary Johnson's argument can be, and will be, turned on like a hose whenever needed for any military policy whatsoever. You may hear it soon again in behalf of that calculated wickedness, the Hydrogen Bomb, another projected step in our downward course towards destruction. I will add, Mr. Chairman, I think without the possibility of denial, that we have been hanging men for "crimes against humanity" that were less heinous than the projection of this Hydrogen Bomb.

Whether or not you vote—and it will be your responsibility, more than the President's—this final step to world ruin, in any case you will be voting on other measures that will bring out from the ghost-writers of the Pentagon, whose salaries you authorize, the same old argument. If you balk at the size of the naval building program, knowing as you do that our Navy is three times the size of all the navies in the world put together, or if you balk at the size of the Army, or of the Marine Corps, or of the National Guard, or of the Reserves, or above all of the Air Force, you will be confronted with the same argument, perhaps with the added warning that you are "undermining the security of the United States." If necessary, submarines will be seen off our coast, or Russian troop movements will be interpreted as "alarming." Just as long as you allow the military to dominate our national policies through your Committee, you will be abdicating your true functions as watchdogs over the military. You will be betraying the American people.

My argument boils down to this, Mr. Chairman: This totally unnecessary Draft Law offers a perfect opportunity to you to re-assert civilian control over the military. Let the Draft Law die, as you and your colleagues intended in December to do, and the whole world will know that sanity has returned in America. Tensions will begin to ease everywhere. The arms race will slacken. Fresh negotiations for reasonable controls over atomic energy will become possible in the improved international climate, and the final war of our civilization, towards which we are moving with accelerated speed, may be averted.

ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST PACIFISM IS DISCUSSED IN

The Doctrine of Perfection—I

By A. J. MUSTE

WHY HAS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH not renounced war? Atomic and germ warfare have appalled the Church's leaders. No authoritative statement by any major church body attempts any longer to prove that war itself is compatible with the will of God or the teaching and spirit of Christ. The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 expressed deep concern over the inability of the Church of Christ to take a unified stand against war, challenged the concept of a just war, and called war a "consequence of the disregard of God." Now the discussion of the hydrogen bomb, with its destructive potentialities a thousand or a million times that of the Hiroshima bomb, has posed the problem still more sharply. Yet still the overwhelming majority of the churches do not declare their irrevocable refusal any longer to sanction or support war, and the numbers of the Christian pacifists increase only microscopically if at all.

Any exploration of the reasons for this must undoubtedly take into account the entanglement of the churches in the existing social and economic order, as well as the fact that vast numbers of church members are Christian only in a superficial sense.

But overshadowing even these is the influence of such men as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Reinhold Niebuhr, and the large number of unquestionably sincere, learned and devout Christian thinkers and leaders who follow them in an interpretation of the Christian Gospel that rules out pacifism either as a general philosophy of life or as a practical absolute in the present situation. Though there are considerable divergences of view among them, the basic tendencies they have in common may for purposes of brevity and convenience be grouped under the term neo-orthodoxy. Without attempting to recite neo-orthodoxy's full indictment of liberal and other theologies, its attitude toward Christian pacifism may be summarized briefly as holding that the latter falls into the error of Perfectionism in its concept of personal religious experience and the moral life; into the error of Utopianism in its concept of human society and the goal of history; and into the errors of Sentimentalism and Oversimplification in its political strategy.

The impact of the neo-orthodox orientation and mood in Christian thinking and policy today is enormous, especially in the student bodies of theological schools and among the younger ministers. Moreover, quite irrespective of the

numbers of adherents it may attract, its criticism merits serious consideration.

Sentimental Pacifism

Pacifists in particular do well to heed it. It is perfectly true that a good many of us have had a soft, sentimental, naïve view of things. Our political analysis often has been superficial. Tending to minimize the power of tyranny and to underestimate the depth and extent of depravity in certain persons and systems, we have tended also to assume that there were comparatively cheap and easy solutions for international problems.

Moreover, we pacifists need to take the neo-orthodox criticism to heart in judging ourselves as moral beings and professing Christians, that we may be kept from self-deceit, from pampering ourselves, and from arrogating virtue or moral superiority to ourselves.

I am, however, convinced that in essential respects the neo-orthodox teaching and mood are un-Scriptural, not fully Christian, and a source of the gravest danger to the Church and to mankind today, and in this and succeeding articles I wish to deal with these shortcomings, considering in order the doctrine of Perfectionism as it relates to man's personal religious experience, moral life, and ethical standards; then the nature of society and the goal of history, and finally problems connected with the use of love and nonviolence as social and political strategy.

Basic to neo-orthodoxy is a well-known Christian doctrine that has come down through Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin: the doctrine that we are saved by grace through faith and not by our own efforts. Both from a theological and a psychological standpoint this is a sound and extremely useful doctrine, and one that should play a very important part in Christian pacifist thinking.

The person who undertakes to attain perfection in terms of some individual standard invariably finds that the standard is never deep enough. Only a love that does not think primarily of itself, that has the sensitivity to feel the need of others in concrete situations which cannot be blue-printed beforehand, is adequate to human need. To be "perfect" or "whole" is precisely to be unself-conscious, that is, perfectly spontaneous.

Furthermore, there is always an element of competition in this business of keeping the law and striving for individual perfection—"I thank thee that I am not as other men are"—which itself is the deepest kind of violation of the law of life or community.

To make it the aim of life to strive for one's own perfection by one's own power and wisdom involves an assumption of self-sufficiency. But man is a creature, a dependent being, not self-created. He cuts himself off, therefore, from the source of his being when he considers himself self-sufficient. That applies both to his relation to his fellow men, and to his relation to his universe or God. The idea that the individual, somehow isolated from his fellows and God, can have true merit or even reality, is adjudged completely unsound equally by Christian theology and modern psychology. Modern psychologists and the great Christian mystics agree that the source of

evil is the "I," "mine," "me," and that "nothing burns in hell but self-will."

Becoming Integrated

For those who are not accustomed to biblical terms, this doctrine may be expressed as saying that the assumption that we are "saved"—which is to become integrated, or achieve serenity—because we live a good life is true only in a secondary sense. Taken as a primary factor, it is contrary to all human experience. The baby born into a home does not first have to do something to make himself acceptable. For him the great basic fact is that he is accepted. For multitudes of humans born into tolerably normal homes this remains the case right on into their adult lives. Home, as someone said, "is the place where when you have to go there, they have to take you in," and do.

It is the fact that the child is thus accepted, loved, cared for, and trained before he has acquired any merit that makes it possible for him to grow up into an acceptable human being. He is saved by grace. There is conclusive evidence that the people who grow up to be notably unacceptable and antisocial are those who in infancy and childhood suffered deprivation of love. There was no "grace" to accept them for what they were.

Now the core of Christian evangelical teaching and preaching is just this: "You—any man—are accepted of God before you make yourself acceptable, and even though you are not acceptable. You always have been; you always will be. 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord. . . .' Cease, then, from running away from your true home. Stop this agonized striving to be something in yourself. Accept yourself, as you have been accepted. Pause to realize the grace available to you, the love that begat you, the energizing spirit that seeks to invade and flow through you; accept it, take it, yield yourself to it. Only

We cannot restore the Russians to sanity except by recovering our own; we can overcome materialism only by renouncing it, and practicing brotherhood. Only the nonviolent can apply therapy to the violent.

But to ask a nation like the United States at the peak of its wealth to be willing to become poor, or at least poorer, so that others may cease to be poor, or at the peak of its power to renounce its power, is to ask a miracle comparable to that of atomic fission. Human experience suggests that such a new order can come only if there comes into being first a fellowship of persons who in themselves and through their fellowship embody the new order and who become its completely committed witnesses to all the world.

The Communists have in their International such an instrument, and every day bears fresh and startling witness to its effectiveness on a world scale. Obviously an International of Love and Nonviolence is needed, and this is what the Christian Church in principle is and in practice ought to be.

—A. J. MUSTE

believe. God is he who when you have to go there has to take you in, and has all the time been waiting to take you in, as the parable of the Prodigal Son portrays."

Certainly the New Testament offers no way of salvation save this of simple trust in the everlasting mercy and unmerited grace of God.

Exacting Ethic

But it is equally certain that the New Testament never so much as hints that this implies any lowering or compromising of the standard to which men are called to conform or that God's grace is not equal to enabling man to live according to the will of God!

The true evangelical position is surely that recently admirably stated by Karl Holl:[1]

"It is all the more astonishing that on the basis of such a conception of God, which seemed to dissolve all morality, Jesus nevertheless built up an ethic, and the most exacting ethic conceivable at that. . . . The meaning is clear: pardoning grace overcomes, because at the same time it encourages and humbles. It creates an inner affection, a feeling of gratitude which must find expression, and for which the highest is not too much to do. . . . From this follows the most splendid feature of the ethic of Jesus, namely, the naturalness, the spontaneous character of the action, which he supposes even in things most difficult and self-denying. . . . God takes the initiative: with his forgiveness he creates something quite new, out of which arises at once a real, close, and warm relationship to God, and with it at the same time a morality which ventures to take even God himself as its model."

Let us dwell for a moment on these crucial items in Christian experience. First of all, the demand made upon man is the utmost, as Holl remarks, namely that the man saved by grace shall take even God himself as his model. "Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." "If any man would be my disciple, let him take up his own cross and come after me."

And how steadfastly there runs throughout the New Testament the note of joy, elation, confidence, achievement, victory. It is a triumph song of the accepted sinner who becomes acceptable. "Beloved, now are we the children of God and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. . . .Everyone that hath this hope set on him purifieth himself even as he is pure. . . . Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin because he is begotten of God." (I John, 3)

True, we love only because He first loved us; but we do love, and thus we have passed out of death into life. What a difference between the feeling we get from these and other typical New Testament passages and that derived from so much in the neo-orthodox writings, which sometimes impress one as all based on a single text: "The good that I would I do not; the evil that I would not, that I practice. . . . Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?"

For in this very passage the apostle does not end with the cry of despair, "Who shall deliver me?" but with the cry of

1 *Distinctive Elements in Christianity*, by Karl Holl. Charles Scribner's Sons.

gratitude and victory, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." And he makes it plain that the victory has, among other things, its revolutionary and transforming moral results and would have to be dismissed as spurious and not fully Christian if it failed to bear such fruit. "The ordinance of the law" is to be "fulfilled *in* us." If we still "mind the things of the flesh" then we are not Christ's. "We are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die." Only "if by the Spirit ye put to death the deeds of the body, shall ye live."

The moral life is a paradox truly enough and we are greatly in the debt of neo-orthodox theologians for having brought the paradox back into the focus of our thinking and preaching. But they do get their paradoxes twisted around, I think. It is true, as they insist, that even where grace abounds, sin still also persists. (They seem to me sometimes to come very close to saying that where grace abounds, sin much more abounds!) But this is not the Christian last word; it is the statement of the paradox in its negative, non-creative form. The Christian, scriptural, creative statement of the paradox is ever: *"Where sin abounds, grace much more abounds."*

The negative and essentially non-Christian version of the paradox runs: "When I am strong, or think I am, I am weak and do not realize how weak I am. Truly, 'even the youths shall faint and be weary and the young men shall utterly fall.' When I am pure, then I am impure. When I am wise, or think I am, then my mind is closed to knowledge and wisdom. When I love, I hate in subtle ways. When I seek life, or think I have it, I lose it."

The Gift of Grace

Most of us fail to dwell sufficiently on this truth, but we fail equally to dwell on the positive and creative statement of life's experience: "When at last I know I am weak, I am strong. Then I find myself the channel of the spirit of him who 'giveth power to the faint and increaseth strength to him that hath no might.' When at last I know how impure I am and no longer seek to evade or escape the humiliating and bitter realization of that, then I am purified 'even as he is pure.' When I no longer regard truth as an achievement or possession of mine and am no longer defensive about my opinions and ideas, then my mind is liberated and truth can enter its open door. When I recognize in what subtle ways I am tempted to seek my own and to hate others, then I cease to hate and do accept and love my fellows. When I lose my life, I find it."

All of this is so clearly the Christian message of redemption that for all his pessimism Niebuhr cannot avoid pointing to it. Thus in his latest book he says that the New Testament "promises a new beginning in the life of any man, nation or culture which recognizes the persistence and depth of man's defiance."

Daniel Day Williams, in his recent book *God's Grace and Man's Hope,** in similar vein declares:

(*Continued on page* 32)

* Published by Harper and Bros., and quoted by permission.

Under Certain Conditions

By MILTON MAYER

TIME IS RUNNING OUT AGAIN, a little faster than the most pessimistic of us predicted a few years ago, and I can not, for the life of me, suppress the conviction that the cause of war is pacifism. Hear me out before you howl.

Pacifism is, in minimum, the renunciation of war. "I will refuse," says the FOR Statement of Purpose, "to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations," and very recently I heard a distinguished member of the FOR say, "Now that part of the Statement is clear enough, and it doesn't require any elaboration." In maximum, we know that pacifism is not a renunciatory way of life at all, but a life of relentless action. Swimming slowly upstream is more active than racing rapidly down. But between the minimum and maximum positions there seems to be room, in pacifism, for almost everyone.

If by renunciation we mean saying, "I renounce," then millions, indeed, almost the whole world is, between wars, pacifist. When Mr. Truman says, "We cannot, must not have war, we must have peace," he is, on this doctrine, a pacifist. If by "participating," we mean shooting, here again almost the whole world, over or under military age, is pacifist and can take the pledge readily. Everybody is against war; nobody is for it. Hitler himself never spoke publicly in favor of war.

We seem to be fairly well satisfied that it would be incongruous to enroll Hitler in the FOR, but what about Truman, or Atlee, or, yes, Nehru? Aren't they pacifists, too? Don't they want peace? If they are armed to the teeth, don't we have their word for it that armament is simply a means, and the only effective means, of keeping the peace? And aren't they pacifists each day their armament succeeds in keeping the peace?

We may argue with them, and say that their kind of pacifism always means ultimate war, but we can not prove our point. The fact that it always has meant war does not compel the conclusion that it always will. Our case, on this level, is only *better* than theirs, but in logic they still have a case. They can argue that they are the real pacifists.

And, of course, they do. So we argue with them, and in the course of the argument the war starts, and so we were right again. But the decisive period is the period of the argument, and in that period we are never able, in the nature of the case, to prove that we are right.

Thus, in the end, pacifism is an immense, amorphous tent under which all of us, only excepting a few generals, newscasters, and Culbertsons, can find consolation. It is immense, this tent, only to the extent that it is amorphous. We are all against war, millions and millions of us.

Pacifism is full of people who

will not fight under certain conditions and who will under others; or who do or do not call tax-paying fighting; or who define pacifism as anything from Tolstoy to Truman. The sum total effect of pacifism, in this case, is a sense of righteousness, not always justified, in those who espouse it. This sense of righteousness is delusive, and when war comes the deluded are at pains, but not at any very great pain, to explain that it was not *they* who caused the war; *they* were against war; *they* were pacifists.

The growth or decline of the FOR may or may not be an indication that there is more or less pacifism in the world. It depends entirely on what the FOR means by "renounce," "refuse," "war," "sanction," and "military preparations." If these terms are not clear, adherence to them is meaningless and worse than meaningless; adherence to them is, like as not, simply a self-administered soporific or, worse yet, a scheme for making war without being caught at it.

We want the FOR to grow. It is, even at its most amorphous, a more inspiring organization than, say, the DAR or the USSR. But its growth, like that of the Peace Pledge Union in England, may prove to have been nothing more than the delusion that a membership list is a revolution.

If we are going to bear a witness, we must have a witness to bear. Our witness is not world government, though I would suppose that it subsumed world government. Our witness is not the international control of atomic energy, though I would suppose that that, too, would be subsumed, or national or international disarmament. Our witness is none of these good things to which others bear witness so fervently. Our witness, if we have one, is something that distinguishes the FOR from all the other organizations and institutions, worthy and unworthy, that are saying, and even doing, good things. The March of Dimes is doing good things, but its witness, though it might be subsumed under ours, is not ours.

There is only one debate in the FOR worth having, and that is the debate on what we are trying to do. If our object is to prevent war, we shall have a world of members, including Mr. Truman and the General Staff. If our object is to talk peace, we shall have Mr. Stalin on our rolls. If our object is to identify ourselves as pacifists, without saying exactly what we mean by pacifism, we shall enlist almost every mother's son—and certainly every son's mother—in America.

But if our object is to love peace, to be peaceful, and to make peace, not under certain conditions but under all conditions, and if necessary all by ourselves, and if this object leads us, as it certainly must, into conflict with the law of the land, we may be few, and ever fewer, in number until this Gospel age has run its course and the Lord, Who expects only a little band to await His coming, comes.

Send in your contribution to the FOR early. If the budget is assured the staff need not spend valuable time in the raising of money.

Was this a victory for violence? After its birth in war, what is

Israel's Future

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

ONE of the great tragedies of our time is the easy acceptance of war and militarism by a people whose traditional salutation is "Shalom," or "Peace." Israel, like India with its Tagore and Gandhi, once gave to the world a prophetic leadership for peace and brotherhood. Yet like India, Israel has used military force against her neighbors, has established peacetime conscription, and shares responsibility for a continuing system of partition and division.

Recently a Jewish rabbi whose pacifism remained unshaken through the days of Nazi persecution and World War II resigned from the FOR. The substance of his reasoning was that war had been successful in the case of Israel. Although he did not say it in so many words, he felt a nation had been created by war, had been accepted into the United Nations, and was providing a haven for thousands of persecuted Jews. He is not alone in his reasoning. I have heard it from Jewish college students, from Christians, and from those who profess no religion.

Was this war different? Has it been the instrument by which peace and security have finally come to the Holy Land?

One of the outstanding Jews, if not the greatest Jewish leader of our century, Judah Magnes, late President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, answered these questions four years ago in the prophetic tradition of his forebears. In comment on a benefit play then being given in New York, "A Flag is Born," he decried the "open appeal for funds for the purchase of arms for terrorist groups in Palestine." In a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, one of the play's sponsors, he wrote:

> The climax of the play is the appearance of young Palestinians with rifles, who declare: "The new Jewish voice speaks from out of these guns."
>
> This is, indeed, a new Jewish voice, a voice which is opposed to the whole tradition of the Jewish religion. Judaism has repeated throughout the generations the noble words of the Prophet Isaiah, that "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law and the Word of God from Jerusalem." This "new Jewish voice" is not the Law from Zion or the Word of God from Jerusalem. It is but a reflection of the immense Jewish tragedy and of the militarism that has seized hold upon the greater part of mankind, and unhappily also a part of the Jewish people.
>
> Are you in favor of supplying money and arms for the terrorists who are destroying life here and many of the achievements of the Jewish pioneers, and who are poisoning the minds and souls of our younger generation?
>
> The hero of the play declares: "We know who the Arabs are. They are but a British lie wear-

ing a tarbush." Is this the way to secure friendship and understanding and cooperation between Jews and Arabs, by thus characterizing the Arabs? I feel sure you would not want to be among those sowing suspicion and hatred between the Jews and the Arabs, who must continue to live together in the Holy Land whatever be the political situation.

Nothing New

Since this letter was written, the war in Palestine between Jews and Arabs was fought and the armistice has been concluded. It is of course too early to say with finality what the judgment of history will be. But enough is known to suggest that this war, like others, has created tremendous problems, aggravated tensions, and increased the hatreds in the Near East.

Before the war, Jewish cooperative communities like the one at Dafne had built friendly relations with their Arab neighbors. Arabs came into the communities to buy fodder and food, to visit the doctor, and to transact other business. Dafne had a special committee, each member of which spoke Arabic. This committee travelled to nearby Arab settlements to build friendly relations. The New York *Times* reported that these Arab friends during the early days of the war would slip into Dafne at night to warn the Jewish community of attack by other Arab countries.

The friendships which were built and those which might have been, were broken by the war. Thousands of Arabs were driven out of the area controlled by Israel. A United Nations Economic Survey Mission has estimated that 726,000 persons have fled from Israel and are unable to return. Not only were thousands made homeless but as recently as November, 1949, another United Nations agency was providing relief for 1,099,000 persons.

When the war ended, part of Jerusalem was held by the Arabs and part by Israel. No Jews remain in the Arab-held part, though Jews have lived there for twenty-five centuries, and less than one thousand Arabs live in the Jewish-held section. Arab Jerusalem is not self-sustaining and as a result has been unable to maintain full employment or educational and health services. The disease and poverty in one section of Jerusalem will undoubtedly take its toll in the other, just as happens in American cities where there is extreme poverty and disease on one side of the railroad tracks.

The division in Jerusalem is symbolic of a larger problem. Israeli forces not only drove the Arabs out of the 5,600 square miles assigned to Israel by a United Nations partition resolution, but occupied an additional 1,600 square miles that had been assigned to the Arabs. Aside from the small nation of Lebanon and a strip held by Egypt, the rest of Arab Palestine is under the control of King Abdullah of Jordan.

The war cost Israel about $300,000,000, of which 75 percent was covered without outside aid. But as a result of the war, Israel has felt it necessary to maintain a sizeable military establishment. The Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, in a message to American Jews, said on November 26 that although

the Arabs failed to defeat Israel, "their leaders are full of talk of a second round." Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett on the same occasion said, "There is a great deal of sabre-rattling in the Arab world and some Arab states are busy rearming."

The peace is an armed peace bred of insecurity. The armaments cost to Israel is high, and since April 1949 only 90 percent has been met out of Israel's own resources. A survey of factories in June 1948 showed that of existing industrial establishments roughly 90 percent were producing for the Army.

The majority leader of the Israeli parliament told a New York audience last October that because Israel feared the Arab nations might attempt another attack, Israel "dare not slow up the pace of immigration." He indicated that "increasing our population" was part of a program "enabling us to prepare for any eventuality." The immigration problem has not been accepted simply because of its military advantages, of course. There is a genuine humanitarian basis. After all, part of the vision that led to the founding of Israel was the desire to create a homeland for the homeless.

Nevertheless, immigration is one of the major Israeli problems. Many lives of young vigorous Jewish pioneers were lost in the war. They are not easily replaced by new immigrants, who have spent years in concentration or D.P. camps, and who are psychologically spent. Israel needs more than a physical replacement of population. In this period of postwar crisis, she needs an idealism and a pioneer spirit on the part of these people, which is too often unfortunately lacking.

Prime Minister Ben Gurion in October 1949 spoke of Israel's deficit as mounting at the rate of $19,600,000 a month. He emphasized Israel's dependence on foreign investments and said that if they ceased "we shall inevitably reach the starvation point."

Cost of Immigration

One reason for the deficit in addition to military expenditures is the cost of the immigration program. Israel's population swelled by one-third in a year's time with the arrival of 300,000 immigrants, each costing the nation about $2,500.

The fighting in Palestine made it impossible to set up an economic union with the Arab states, which would have helped Israel somewhat. An economic union would have prevented the bitter economic rivalry that has developed at points. An illustration of postwar hatred expressed in economic terms is the Iraqui closing of the oil pipelines from Iraq to the Israeli port of Haifa. Despite strong efforts by Britain and the Iraq Petroleum Company, which is owned by British, United States, French, and Dutch interests, Iraq insists on using only the pipelines to the Lebanese port of Tripoli. Iraq does not want the Israeli refinery at Haifa to have the oil even though it means additional work to expand the small Lebanese refinery at Tripoli.

But even with such a union, Israel would still be dependent on American investments and on charitable drives. American invest-

ments in Israel averaged $2,000,000 a month in new capital over a six-month period, the New York *Times* reported in October 1949. The role American charity plays is seen by the fact that Foreign Minister Sharett credited Israel's accomplishments in the preceding 18 months in immigration and land settlement to the United Jewish Appeal.

As a result of the war, inflation is rampant in Israel. The cost-of-living index, taking August 1939 as 100, rose to 253 in 1945, 271 in 1947, and in February 1949 stood at 370.

Anti-Semitism Revived

In addition to military insecurity and economic difficulties, the Israel-Arab war is said to have revived and strengthened anti-Semitism. There have been repeated reports of persecution of the Jewish minority in Iraq and a report that Iraq wanted to exchange 100,000 Iraqui Jews for an equal number of Arab refugees. The Jews in Iraq are comparatively wealthy, whereas the Arabs who fled Israel had to leave their property behind.

In the United States, Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, in a speech before the New York chapter of the American Council for Judaism, said that the Zionist movement breeds anti-Semitism by encouraging differentiation between Jews and non-Jews and by contending that Jews are merely "sojourners" in this country. Although Hays is undoubtedly correct in his analysis that Zionism has tended to produce anti-Semitic reactions at some points, the overwhelming majority of American Jews are pro-Israel only in the sense that the Irish Americans are pro-Ireland. This is in spite of a tendency on the part of Israel to expect loyalty from Jews everywhere.

Minorities Unhappy

Still another result of the Israeli-Arab war is the Christian minority problem within Israel. There are thousands of Arab Christians, many of them concentrated in places like Bethlehem. There is also a small community of Christians of Jewish descent, some of whom fled Hitler Germany only to find social ostracism in Israel. A number of Protestant missions have been closed. The Roman Catholic Church claims that about $500,000 worth of church property has been destroyed. From the Christian minority in Palestine and from the Vatican has come the main drive for the internationalization of Jerusalem. This drive, which has the backing of the United Nations as a result of a resolution by the U. N. Assembly, is the major international political problem facing Israel today. If it had not been for the combined effort of Roman Catholic countries, the Russian bloc and the Arab states, the U. N. would not have adopted such a resolution with the United States and Britain voting against it. Russia voted for it because Israel is orienting itself toward the United States, from whom she gets economic aid. Also, Russia wanted to keep the pot boiling in Palestine so as to cause trouble for Britain, the historic friend of the Arab states.

The fight for internationalization, however, was led by Charles

Malik of Lebanon, speaking for the Arab states except Jordan. The other Arab states fear Jordan may annex all the non-Israel parts of Palestine and would like to see her lose control of Jerusalem. But the deeper reason for Arab support of internationalization of Jerusalem is retaliation against Israel. Malik said that the U. N. resolution would be valuable if it had no other effect than "a moral bolstering of the Arab world and the corresponding moral sense on the part of the Israelis that there are limits to their ambitions."

The best that can be said of the resolution is that it may provide the incentive for a real peace between Israel and Jordan, neither of whom want Jerusalem taken over by the U. N. "Looking at the worst angle," said the December 11, 1949, New York *Times*, "it might even serve to start hostilities again between the Israelis and the Arabs. . . ."

There is little doubt that conditions in Palestine have been aggravated by the war. From this perspective it would have been far better if Israel had followed Judah Magnes' advice of nonviolence and the creation of "a bi-national state" in which "the Jews and the Arabs can be equal partners."

Any way we look at it, Ben Franklin is still right: "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

Oh, war was the same as peace. Everybody knew it. Why had it taken Harry so long to discover? The proof of its sameness was that people submitted without revolt when their governments declared war and fought in a war without feeling they had gone insane. Would it be possible for them to do so, if war were not simply the same as peace, only more violently so?

Would people submit to fighting in a war if, in order to win it or live through it, they were given new attitudes and values along with their uniforms? Suppose to win a war, a nation of people had to, for instance, join not an army but Christianity. They had to step out of their competitive way of life and adopt the Good Book as the manual of arms. The battle was to "Love thy neighbor," and he would win the war who loved the most.

The war would not be fought. How could anyone nowadays fight such a war? It was too radical. There would be a world-wide revolt against such a war. You could command a man to blow up a city of people in order to win a competition or remain alive in a competition and he would do it. He wouldn't like it, but he'd do it. But you could not command him to love a city of people to win a competition or remain alive in it. He wouldn't be able to. He wouldn't be able to believe he could win that way. His whole life would be against believing it. His whole life had taught him that the way to win was to outdo the next man, profit from his loss. There was no gain except in another's loss. How could he overthrow his life because a bugle had blown? The bugle of war only stirred him up to carry on his life more actively.

—From *An Act of Love*, by Ira Wolfert
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The Power of One

By BENNETT ANDREWS

THE MOST IMPORTANT NUMBER in mathematics, we hold, is one. From it all numbers, even to the greatest, are evolved. A hundred, a thousand, a million: each is made up of a certain number of the units, one. Even the enormity of a billion does not destroy the dignity, the worth of a one.

Each one of us is born in oneness, we must die in oneness. Life is the living in oneness as the individual.

Do we forget this sometimes? Do we submerge our worth, our identity, in someone else, in some group? Do we become puppets, pawns, moving and thinking only the way our master, or the mob, moves and thinks?

But, you say, we are a social people, we have duties to others, we must join with others—majorities have rights, too.

Yes, but when we join with others, we must do so voluntarily. Our agreeing must be the result of separate thought, an accidental meeting as it were of separate onenesses.

Coerced into a "unity" with others against our reason, against our ideals, we become as nothing. With the fall of the strong man, we fall. We contributed no more soul-strength than would a pack of cards.

Today, more and more, we are coming to realize that a thing is "right" only to the individual, and that no amount of quoting "great names" will make it righter. We, individually, must make the decision: is it right, or is it wrong?

The responsibility of the individual in society is inseparably connected with an awareness that society can never be greater than any one individual. A society that would insist on suppressing the individual to the group weakens itself inevitably by weakening the individual responsibility.

Mobs result from our submerging ourselves, forgetting the dignity of one.

But isn't there a power greater in a group than in a one? Yes, though it results only from the voluntary unity of separate individuals. Yet even an ideal stripped of the support of all but one has a strength that can stand without shrinking against any group no matter how large.

Jesus died on the cross as One. The power of that One has never been questioned. Are the millions of Christians today greater in power than the Oneness of Jesus on the cross?

True, in his name we foment war; in his name we strengthen prejudice; in his name we justify oppression and exploitation. Indeed, in his name we lay up the whole hideous score of injustices under which the world, as we make it, labors. We place the blame on the group, but does it not lie solely on the individual, on the *I*, and nowhere else? Was it not I who

was afraid to pit myself against the world? Is it not I who continue afraid?

If we recognize the power of one in ourselves we can accept unity from others. But we must recognize their individual oneness, their right to differ from us at all times and on all points. To expect, to depend on, a unity not fully and completely voluntary will result only in disillusion.

Once we recognize the dignity of oneness, we can examine every idea, old or new, weighing it without prejudice. We will never fear ideas. Fear results from a blank dependency on others, either physically or mentally.

Are we afraid at times to stand on the power of one? Yes, most surely. In emergencies like war we flock as sheep to follow a strong leader, sloughing off our individuality. In elections, too, we sometimes compromise so that we lose our strength, our purpose.

A, B, and C, are candidates. A is reactionary, B is on the fence. C is the one we want to support. His ideas represent most nearly our ideals. But C is extremely unpopular; the contest lies between A and B. Our fear that A will defeat B outweighs the dignity of a oneness with C; we transfer our support to B. We have failed C, we have failed our own ideals.

No idea can be considered dead as long as it has one supporter. Shall we allow it to die within ourselves because of the number of our opponents?

If we, each one of us, believe that a thing is right, let us do so with full responsibility. We can accept the experience of others, but never their "authority." It is in our hands, as individuals, that the fate of every idea, good or bad, lies.

In true unity we add by one to any ideal. Accepting an idea because a group accepts it adds nothing to it, it rather makes us merely a fraction of the whole. The larger the group, the smaller the fraction.

In standing for an ideal or an idea alone, our power is never greater. No one, no group, can prostitute it. It can fall only with us.

And an idea is never stronger than when it is in the hands of one individual who understands his integral responsibility. Numbers indicate acceptance; nothing more. If the acceptance is forced, what value the idea? The good idea is worthy only of voluntary acceptance from a free individual. And the free individual is he who never forgets his oneness despite the press of the billion and more people of the world. In all of this enormity stands firm the power of one.

Satyagraha

Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. . . . We have to make truth and nonviolence not matters for mere individual practice but for practice by groups, communities and nations. That at any rate is my dream. I shall live and die trying to realize it.

Gandhi in *Harijan*
March 2, 1940

News from the Peace Front

Church People Called to Conference on the Church and War

A conference to discuss questions of Christian action raised by modern war will be held in Detroit on May 8 to 11, with 500 delegates from 16 major Protestant denominations. Initiative in organizing the conference was taken by church people in the FOR and other peace groups, in denominational pacifist fellowships and in the peace churches. Delegates will be chosen by the various groups, but an unrestricted number of visitors and observers will be welcome. The Conference sessions will be held at Central Methodist Church in Detroit, whose minister, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, is a member of the National Committee, and an FOR member. Registration for delegates or visitors will be $2.00, and rooms have been reserved at a nearby hotel for delegates. The Conference will not pay delegates' expenses, which may be borne by the individuals, their groups or churches or other agency.

"Millions outside the Church and inside it are looking for a clear contemporary statement of what Christian peace action is, amid the complexity, guilt, and cynicism of society," the Conference statement says. The 1937 Oxford Conference and that at Amsterdam in 1948 expressed the concern and bewilderment of churchmen in their attitude toward modern war. Christian opinion "had no chance to lift its voice against such an assault upon human decency" as the atom bomb, says Dr. Albert Edward Day, Chairman of the Conference's National Committee, in his statement. "Now it is time for the church to make up its mind about war with the hydrogen bomb. The world is waiting for a Christian voice that is unequivocal and unafraid."

If you wish to be a delegate to the conference, write to your denominational representative on this list: Brethren, Rev. W. Harold Row, 22 S. State Street, Elgin, Illinois; Friends, Harold Chance, 20 S. 12 Street, Philadelphia; Mennonite, Rev. Harold Sherk, Akron, Pennsylvania; Methodist, Herman Will, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois; Congregational-Christian, Prof. William Clark, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana; Episcopal, Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, 9 East 94 St., New York City 28; Presbyterian, Rev. John Oliver Nelson, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City 3; Lutheran, Rev. Robert Weiskotten, 86-20 114 St., Richmond Hill, L. I., N. Y.; Baptist, Rev. Lee A. Howe, Jr., Webster, N. Y.; Disciples, Rev. James A. Crain, 222 S. Downey, Indianapolis; Evangelical and Reformed, Rev. Dewees Singley, 1540 Wingohocking St., Philadelphia 40; Unitarian-Universalist, Rev. Walter Royal Jones, Jr., 50 Monroe Pl., Brooklyn 2; New Church, Gustave Bischof, 471 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn 18, N. Y.; FOR, Rev. George Houser, 21 Audubon Ave., New York City 32; Canada, Walter

Alexander, 445 St. Germaine Ave., Toronto.

If your denomination is not represented above, or if you wish further information on any aspect of the Conference, write to George M. Houser, Executive Secretary, 252 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 1, New York.

Davis Moves to German Border

After being refused permission to go to Germany to help in its rebuilding, Garry Davis has decided to settle down on the border between France and Germany to await the permission of the German people themselves to enter their country.

After his campaign in November to be put in prison with the French CO, Jean Bernard Moreau, which received widespread publicity and probably helped in the decision of André Philip to introduce a bill providing for COs into the French Assembly, Garry Davis decided that he ought to return to his original purpose of going to Germany to help in reconstruction. When he renounced his American citizenship he wished to go to Germany for this purpose, since as a bomber pilot he had helped in its destruction. On December 15, however, he was informed by the French, British and American authorities of the Allied High Commission that "responsible authorities" in Germany had refused him permission to enter the Western Zone of Germany. No reason was given. On December 29 he was informed that the French Ministry of the Interior had officially refused his request for a re-entry permit into France if he should leave, and his request for permission to enter Germany was still refused.

"Since Germany is still the place which my reason and conscience tell me I can work must usefully for world peace," Garry Davis' statement said, "I shall return to the line which the authorities have informed me is the 'frontier' between France and Germany, and on that line, with the help of friends, I shall build a small house in which to live while I wait entry permission."

Tribute to Dr. Holmes Planned by Friends

Friends and admirers of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, a member of the FOR since 1915, popular contributor for many years to FELLOWSHIP, and minister of the Community Church in New York for 42 years, are raising a fund in his honor. The fund will be used to pay off the mortgage on the recently-completed modern Community Church edifice and to pay for and equip the John Haynes Holmes Community House, bought this year to accommodate the expanded community activities of the church. The services of the church include a marriage consultation service, a legal counseling service, a psychiatric counseling service, a social service department and numerous youth activities.

Members of the Honorary Dedication Committee include Julius Ochs Adler, Francis Biddle, Herbert H. Lehman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Harry Emerson Fosdick, Newbold Morris, Channing H. Tobias, Leon Henderson and Samuel Seabury.

T. D. Walser Foundation Set Up in Japan

The Theodore Walser Foundation has been set up in Japan to promote education in Christian pacifism in the country where Ted Walser labored for 26 years as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church and where he was imprisoned for some months after the outbreak of war. After consultation with more than a dozen students who were disciples and friends of Mr. Walser the Memorial Fund Committee has decided that funds donated to his memory should be used to give annual prizes for the best essays on subjects relating to the Christian pacifist movement, and to establish a lending library of books dealing with Christianity, war and peace.

The chairman of the Committee is Dr. Iwao Ayusawa, who is a delegate from Japan to UNESCO, and the Secretary is Mr. Bunichi Kagami, a business man of Fujisawa City. American members of the committee are Esther Rhoads, Lillie Roudabush and Nevin Sayre. Subscriptions in the United States may be sent to Nevin Sayre, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y., designated for the Theodore Walser Foundation. Japanese educators and friends of Mr. Walser complete the Committee.

The International FOR is donating a number of books to the lending library which will be established at Tokyo and Kyoto. The annual prizes for essays on pacifism will be open to students in colleges and high schools. Competent judges will be selected to make the awards. Gifts and subscriptions to the Memorial Fund now total $900. It is hoped that $5,000 may be secured so that the project may run for ten years.

National Council Urges Japanese Peace Treaty

In a statement on American policy with respect to Japan the National Council of the FOR urged that a peace treaty be immediately drawn up and the American occupation ended.

The Council recognized that its recommendation could be carried out only as part of a larger program for peace and the abandonment of the cold war, pointing out that persistence in the present course "can only end in horrible disaster for ourselves and other peoples and in the eclipse of the values which have been cherished by democratic and Christian peoples."

Fast Planned on H-Bomb Issue

In an effort to break through the crust of fear and indifference which surrounds the discussion of the hydrogen bomb, a group is planning to fast in Washington during Holy Week from April 1-9. The concern arose at a Peacemakers conference and has spread to others. All FOR members and concerned people are invited to contact Bayard Rustin or Fran Hall at 21 Audubon Ave. A. J. Muste and David Dellinger are also on the Committee. Tentative plans call for various types of activity by fasters to inform the public of their purposes.

Hydrogen Bomb Approved by Truman

Less than three weeks after it was disclosed to the public that experimenters believed a hydrogen bomb, many times more powerful than the atomic bomb, could be made, President Truman gave orders to the Atomic Energy Commission to proceed with its manufacture. The hydrogen bomb, in theory, would derive its power from the fusion of hydrogen atoms or of hydrogen and lithium atoms, touched off by the tremendous heat of a uranium or plutonium explosion. This would result in a tremendous release of energy many times greater than that of the uranium fission alone, and the fusion, in turn, would result in a recombination of the light element nuclei, forming helium. In addition to providing an enormous increase in the force of the explosion, estimated as from eight to a thousand times greater than that of an A-bomb, hydrogen and lithium are plentiful, and are not extremely costly, as are the relatively minute and laboriously obtained cores for the plutonium and U-235 weapons.

Although the President's action came while the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee was still drafting recommendations on the new weapon, and was evidently sooner than expected, most Congressmen and others approved the action. One of the few dissenters was Rep. W. Sterling Cole, (R., N. Y.) who assailed the President's action as a usurpation of Congress' powers and declared that Truman had muffed an opportunity to lead a movement to stop the "mad race of modern science toward more and greater weapons of destruction." He said that the decision goes beyond the question of American security. "The security of mankind is also at stake."

Rep. Henry M. Jackson, (D., Wash.) approved the President's action, but said the hydrogen bomb would be in an "entirely different category than the atomic bomb because it can't be used for peaceful purposes, only for destruction." In spite of rosy pictures painted of the peacetime uses of atomic energy, the Atomic Energy Commission uses 98 percent of its funds for atomic weapons.

Bernard Baruch and Dr. Harold Urey had publicly urged Truman to take this action, and presumably his General Advisory Commission, of which Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is head and which includes Dr. James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard, and Professors Enrico Fermi and I. I. Rabi, also recommended the step.

Before the President's decision was announced, newspaper and radio commentators in many instances expressed grave misgivings about the hydrogen bomb and the present course of American policy. Marquis Childs of the N. Y. *Post* and James Reston of the *Times* said that an unorganized and informal strike of scientists, many of whom might simply decline to take part in the building of such an instrument of mass destruction, was more than a possibility. The extent of such a movement would be very hard to judge, since it is the men who do take part who would get the publicity. Max Lerner, writing in the *Post*, declared that "A new irresponsibility has de-

veloped in our time. It is the irresponsibility of power in the name of science. . . . If I were a scientist I would rather see my career wrecked than have any truck with what poisons the wells of the human spirit." The New York *Herald Tribune* in an editorial on January 19 recalled that the A-bomb was approved because of fear that another nation might develop it, and that such fears proved to have been totally groundless at that time, adding that "it is distressing now to look back," and that we could have "stayed ahead" without it. Now, however, the *Tribune* says, we have no choice but to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb, and must "stand ready to accept the future imposed on us by this new discovery." In spite of this assertion the writer goes on to say we must realize that atomic warfare "offers nothing to humankind except extinction. . . . As a safeguard it [the hydrogen bomb] may be necessary; as a positive means of furthering any rational human aim, it will be much worse than useless, and we must not go into this thing until we first understand, much more clearly than we did in the case of the uranium bomb, just what it is that we are doing." The President's decision, however, has now made this impossible.

Reconciliation Trips Promote Understanding

One of the most interesting and practical methods of promoting understanidng among races and classes of people is conducted by Clarence V. Howell, an FOR member. Mr. Howell is the Director of Reconciliation Trips, Inc., of 417 West 121st Street, New York City, which conducts tours to various parts of the city to see how people of different races, nations and classes live and work. Trips are made to Harlem, to Chinatown, to Italian, Japanese, Jewish and Spanish sections; to flophouses on the Bowery and to model housing projects; to synagogues and churches, to the fish market and the flower market. "Our job," says Clarence Howell, "is to build friendly relations in this world through the medium of the people right here in New York. Every people on earth, every culture, every religion, every social problem is represented in New York. . . . Peacemaking in New York radiates from people in New York back to their people in their old country. So that peacemaking in New York is peacemaking on earth. That's our job!"

British FOR Plans Youth Holiday Conferences

The Youth Committee of the British FOR is planning two conferences for young people under 25, one to be held at the Grange School, Buxton, Derbyshire, from Thursday, April 6 to Tuesday, April 11, and the other for the week of August 5 to 12 at Malvern. They are offering six scholarships to young people from overseas, including all expenses at the conference except, of course, traveling expenses. Those interested should apply to Percy Bartlett for scholarships, at 38 Gordon Square, London W. C. 1, England, and send a copy of the letter to A. J. Muste in the national office.

Books

Niebuhr and Neo-Orthodoxy

Faith and History, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's, 1949. 257 pp., $3.50.

Neo-orthodoxy is beginning to turn a corner. Barth in Europe and Niebuhr in America represent the growing concern with the redemptive aspects of Christianity which was conspicuously absent from the movement a decade ago. At that time Barth's emphasis was almost exclusively on the otherness of God and the unbridgeable chasm between the human and the divine. But his most recent work, *Dogmatics in Outline,* puts a strong accent on human faith and responsibility and the accessibility of God to men.

Similarly, Niebuhr, a decade ago, placed the Cross at the edge of history which he narrowly defined as the locus of human sinfulness. Redemption was not to be looked for within history, but at its end. The present work, *Faith and History,* however, makes a cautious beginning toward the discovery of partial fulfillments within history and of the Biblical promise for the here and now.

Liberal optimism, however, will find here no ground for saying, "I told you so." This is the same Barth and the same Niebuhr, approaching their problem not as a return to the tenets of the age of progress, but on the presuppositions of classic Christian theology. Perhaps the outside criticism that neo-orthodoxy, in its mission of refuting humanistic optimism, had fallen into despair, played a part in persuading neo-orthodoxy to clear itself of the charge of fatalism. Also, such mediating studies as William's *God's Grace and Man's Hope* are helping toward a recovery of balance. But, even without outside criticism, Christian theology would sooner or later have revealed its resources for redemption to those seriously enough interested to follow it through. The fruits of the spirit, or ethical and moral values in the here and now, are as certainly part of the Christian revelation as the sinfulness of man; and God's power to work salvation is not to be consigned to an unrealistic age beyond time. Precisely because history is the locus of sin, it is also the locus of redemption.

Niebuhr approaches the problem with his customary profound penetration. Characteristically, the accent is still mainly negative by way of brilliant refutations of current conceptions of history as the realm of automatic progress. The total tone of the book is still more harmonious with Greek tragedy than with Christian idealism, and there is yet a long way to go before full recovery of the joyful hopefulness which in the New Testament is never separated from its rigorous moral demand. But the book does strike a new note for its author, that "the goodness of

Christ must be embedded in the stuff of history" as well as standing over it as judgment.

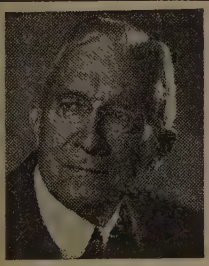
—GEORGE MILES GIBSON

COs in Prison

Prison Etiquette: The Convict's Compendium of Useful Information, by "The Inmates." Retort Press, 1950. 138 pages, $2.50.

Holly Cantine and Dachine Rainer, who have written the introduction to this book, have done a service in making available a series of articles, poems, stories, etc., by ex-prison COs. Christopher Isherwood, who writes the Preface, says that the book "may, as its title indicates, be regarded as a manual of living-technique for prisoners in general. It is also a statement, written with great power, insight and occasional humor, of the whole anarchist-pacifist position." And this is an excellent way to indicate what is offered here.

The authors' names will be familiar to many FELLOWSHIP readers. Contributors to the first section on Resistance in Prison are Clif Bennett, Howard Schoenfeld, Lowell Naeve and Jim Peck. The section on the Prison Community has articles by Curtis Zahn and Don DeVault and an unusual and scholarly sociological comment, Notes On the Prison Community, by Bernard Phillips. The Arts and



You can join in paying special tribute

to

one of the greatest

PACIFIST LEADERS IN OUR HISTORY

Dr. John Haynes Holmes

In tribute to John Haynes Holmes' lifetime of extraordinary service for the cause of interfaith relations, interracial brotherhood, civil liberties, good government and international peace, a committee has been formed of outstanding Americans who have admired, loved and followed him through the years. This committee hopes, at the time of Dr. Holmes' retirement from the active ministry of The Community Church of New York, to raise $135,000 as a special gift-tribute to him for his outstanding leadership and inspiration. The gift is to be used to complete and equip the John Haynes Holmes Community House and to discharge the mortgage still outstanding on the Community Church, and will be presented to him on April 30th when the Community House is dedicated. Gift-tributes, both large and small, are earnestly solicited.

Mr. Peter Grimm, Chairman
Honorary Dedication Committee
Suite 1533, 15 West 48th Street
New York 20, New York

I herewith donate $_____ as a tribute to Dr. Holmes.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Please make checks payable to The Community Church.
(*All contributions are tax-deductible.*)

Letters section has contributions by Roy Franklyn, Sturge Steinert, Bill Kuenning and Jack Hemelke, in addition to poems by Arthur Kassin, James Holmes, E. R. Karr and Lowell Naeve. The latter's illustrations, in the opinion of this novice in art, add greatly to the value of the book.

It was handset and printed on a Gordon foot pedal press by the Editors in an edition of two thousand, and though it stems mainly from one section of the pacifist movement it is of real interest for all, and I hope it sells out fast.

—A. J. M.

Pamphlet Parade

The Overcoming of Evil, by Ernest Fremont Tittle. Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, 1949. 8 pp., 5c each, 100 for $3.00.

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Lane's End Homestead
Brookville, Ohio

The Creative Revolution of Jesus, by Kirby Page. Published by the author, 1950. 62 pp., 50c.

Jesus was a member of a subject race, in a day of war, conquest, luxury, cynicism, hatred, and despair, and he inaugurated "the revolution of the ages," a method and a program and a power. Kirby Page goes on to show how many similarities there are in today's situation, and how to carry through Jesus' creative revolution in our time.

—C. M.

One Man's Meat

The World Must Be Governed, by Vernon Nash. Harpers, 1949. 206 pp., $2.50.

The vice president of the United World Federalists, Vernon Nash, has prepared a medium-length book that, in effect, is the answer to the many questions that he has encountered at the close of lectures throughout the country. As such,

THE CREATIVE
REVOLUTION OF JESUS:
THEN AND NOW

By Kirby Page

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Full length book

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KIRBY PAGE
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

The World Must Be Governed comes close to being a textbook on world government. It also represents the party line of his organization and therefore has a partisan flavor that at times approaches the didactic.

Mr. Nash has very little patience for other groups working along varying roads to a warless world: for those who think that the United Nations, given proper support, can amount to something; for those who favor a limited world government as a starter; for those who would appease Russia, or who think that changing the attitudes of people is a first essential of peace, or who champion unilateral disarmament, which his organization terms "futile and dangerous."

What Mr. Nash wants right from the start is a world government with "power (a) to guarantee the security of all, (b) to promote the general welfare, and (c) to administer under law the common interests of mankind." Broken down a bit, this power would include the authority to control the defense, currency, external trade, communications and immigration policies of all member nations.

The book is at its persuasive best when describing why such a world authority is an immediate necessity. And most intelligent readers will undoubtedly nod their heads in agreement. The idea of world government is generally popular in this country and has done things to the treasuries of world-government organizations that never happened to plain old peace groups. But, to paraphrase the ancient Thomas à Kempis, there remains the possibility that many seek world government but not the things that make for world government.

It is hard to believe that southerners are now prepared to let the "well-being of all mankind" (including Negroes) be controlled by a world authority that, if truly representative, would be dominated by non-white peoples; or that the West and Southwest are ready to relinquish all except a minority voice in immigration matters; or that Wall Street and American industry are willing to accept international control of currency and foreign trade, or that scores of patriotic groups are eager to have the armed forces reduced to a puny police force.

While Mr. Nash does not concede that this country is not mentally and spiritually prepared for the renunciation of nationalism, he does all but grant that there is little hope of Russia's accepting international control. It is his belief, however, that right-minded nations can go ahead with the formation of a world federation anyway, leaving the door open for recalcitrant nations to join later. Then he adds: "A nuclear world union will doubtless maintain whatever military forces may seem to be required by the strength of the countries which chose to remain outside."

What the above boils down to, it seems to me, is a world divided into two or more parts, each part armed against the others. And that leaves this reviewer with the old-fashioned notion, reactionary as it may seem to world federalists, that international commitments on the nationalistic order of the Atlantic Pact are about the most that can be expected from this country, at least, until there has been a basic change of heart and attitudes.

—EDGAR L. JONES

Letters

Heartfelt Admiration

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Enclosed are two checks—one for Christmas cards, the other the savings that accrued in the "Peace Mite Box."

Though I am not a pacifist I am interested in your ideas, and especially in your work. You people do less talking and more acting than any organization I know of, and for this you have my heartfelt admiration.

RICHARD S. ERMAN
Chicago, Illinois

Paine Refreshing

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Don't let the reactions of Messrs. Davison, Doebele and Lefever to George L. Paine's article "get you down" or influence too markedly your editorial policy.

I found Paine's article very refreshing, after all to which I had been subjected through other media; nor did it persuade me that all is well "Behind the Curtain." I am somewhat surprised that you have any readers who require that all they read be "in context." Could it be that they are really more concerned about other people's ability to discriminate than about their own?

Several years ago I arranged for a young lady who had been a member of a youth group on tour of Russia and Czechoslovakia, to tell about her experiences and impressions before a number of high school assemblies, church organizations, and service clubs. She was also the banquet speaker at an interdenominational county Sunday School convention. Her audiences quite obviously enjoyed her and applauded generously enough. The conservative daily newspaper of the community in which I then lived gave not a line to any of the content of her addresses, and in the published report of the convention sessions she was not even mentioned.

I would vouch for the young lady that she had no conceivable reason for being pro-Soviet, in the sense of discriminating in Russia's favor. She is American, of Dutch extraction. Her social background would, I imagine, have predisposed her to distrust the Communists, yet her testimony with regard to her experiences was altogether favorable to the Russians. She told me a number of things privately which she did not dare include in her public addresses because of the probable reaction; conceivably more violent than that registered by your three correspondents to Mr. Paine's article.

I trust that you will continue to feel free to print whatever good you hear about anybody, anywhere.

LYMAN ACHENBACH
Fort Plain, New York

Too Much Bitterness

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The last issue of FELLOWSHIP, I thought, was entirely too filled with verbal gunfire. Such blasts of bitterness, cynicism, and "righteous" wrath were far too numerous to help rekindle that warmth of tender mercy and loving kind-

ness which burns at low ebb in so many of us these days.

The body of poor George Paine, for instance, was completely riddled. That he may have viewed a complex scene wrongly need be cause for restatement and careful analysis—but please, not with such fury! And granted that Milton Mayer is an analytical genius, need his cunning be so brutal? The "mink coated" women in the January issue were like so many bags of lifeless mutton. After all they are people and not minks and even the most despicable human being must be sacred to a pacifist.

I wonder sometimes if it isn't just as hard to love one's brother as one's enemy?

BARBARA C. SMUCKER
Chicago, Illinois

Reform the Church

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I can't refrain from adding a note concerning "Pacifists and the Church," after reading the fine letters of Louis Adams and Clara E. Wilson. Since my letter appeared in FELLOWSHIP last summer, I have received letters from several states, so pacifists are concerned about it.

There are two chief errors in pacifist thinking. Clara Wilson's letter illustrates one. She says, "Should we not break away . . . and form a new pacifist church?" Jesus didn't break away from the synagogue. "As was his custom, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath Day." What he did in that synagogue from sabbath to sabbath brought death to him. Even when he must have realized his path meant death, he still persisted in the synagogue and the temple. And then he prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." In that spirit (within organized religion) there was the birth of a new day. If present-day pacifists want peace, we should learn, and "do likewise" in the same "spirit." Gandhi has written that spirit in modern language; our job is to remain within the churches, and convince all Christians that pacifism is not "pacifism," but "historical Christianity." It can be done; but not by "pulling out." No organization—UN, FOR, WRL or any other—can take the place of the church in "Peace for our generation." We "pull out" at our own and humanity's peril.

The second error of many pacifists differs from Clara Wilson's in that they feel the church "can be counted out," the church isn't important in present-day events. What an opportunity we miss!

My plea is not to "white-wash the church." I think I criticize as seriously as anyone. My philosophy is (1) for good or for ill, the church will swing humanity toward peace or war; (2) that the church can and will swing humanity toward peace, if pacifists are willing to pay the price necessary for reconciliation; (3) that any pacifist program which ignores the Christian faith and the organized church is doomed to failure; (4) that God's commission to "Christian pacifists" is to remain in their present churches until they are bodily

Prompt, accurate service on magazine subscriptions. All commissions donated to FOR. Send orders and inquiries to Emmett Newby, 3352 Otono Court, Muscoy, San Bernardino, California.

Posters Available

If you are having a meeting or conference you should have these posters, attractively printed in two colors, giving the Fellowship's Statement of Purpose. One is the page headed "That men may live in peace together," and the other "The Fellowship position." The posters are 17½" x 23", and you may obtain both posters by sending us $1 for the set.

thrown out or worse—and then still pray for those who throw us out and go back for more, in *love.*

Academic "pacifism" is one thing; putting it into practice is another. And most of us are good militarists in our practice of what we call pacifism. We must still learn to "love our enemies," as Earl Smith points out, and to walk "the second mile" with friend and foe. Frankly, pacifists haven't learned that very much better than "others."

CARL J. LANDES
Shandon, Ohio

Secretary Needed

The National Office of the FOR is looking for a secretary. Shorthand and typing essential, some languages would be fine, but not required. Write to the Office Manager.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Perfection

(*Continued from page* 11)

"God does transform rebellious and self-sufficient men into persons who can begin to love their fellows," and he adds the very important observation: "The power which works this transformation is *released in the depths of the personal life just at the point where man finds his own self-righteousness shattered.*" (Italics mine.)

Thus Christian humility, the abandonment of human "pretension" to which Niebuhr summons us, is the "moment" in which we experience the transforming power of God and are born anew of his Spirit. It is not the moment in which we experience as final or decisive our own helplessness and corruption. When we become obsessed with human helplessness and corruption instead of being caught up in the transcending of them by the grace of God, we are still preoccupied with self, still self-centered and, therefore, still also self-righteous. That heart that is "deceitful above all things" arrogates virtue to itself because it "knows," as "other men" do not, how self-righteous we are. If we do not end with the experience of the grace and power of God as that which overcomes and blots out our preoccupation with our sinful selves, we are but giving another demonstration of the pretension and corruption of man.

(This is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Muste.)

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Not that we're getting exclusive—

but six of the eight books below were written by FOR members, two in Britain and four in this country. Whether they're by FOR members or not, though, we think you'll find these worth your attention.

PILLARS OF FAITH

By Nels F. S. Ferre $1.50

A discussion of the five central pillars of the Christian faith and their meaning for today.

SIGNS OF HOPE

By Elton Trueblood $1.00

The Christian Church in the present crisis and the points at which it shows signs of increasing vitality.

A FIELD OF BROKEN STONES

By Lowell Naeve and David Wieck $3.00

The experiences of a nonregistrant CO and his comrades in American prisons during World War II.

CHALLENGE OF CONSCIENCE

By Denis Hayes $2.25

British COs in World War II, before the tribunals, in various types of wartime work, in prison and the Army.

THE WAR MYTH IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

By C. H. Hamlin $.75

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM AFTER TWO WORLD WARS

By Leyton Richards $2.00

PEACE IS POSSIBLE

Ed. by Sydney Temple $2.00

Articles by Bishop Lawrence, Katherine C. Pierce, Nevin Sayre, and many others, in honor of Adelaide Case.

THE GOSPEL AND OUR WORLD

By Georgia Harkness $1.50

An analysis of the church today and its difficulties in presenting its message "in terms that seem vital to the common man."

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

21 Audubon Avenue **New York 32, N. Y.**

The Return of the Guardian Angel

"Hey!" said the voice, nudgingly.

The Pacifist opened one eye and quickly closed it again. "Go away," he said. "I *will not* get up again!"

"Sure you will," said the voice of the Guardian Angel, who was perched precariously on the footboard of the bed. "You think this is any time to sleep? Why, Truman's just given the go-ahead on the Hydrogen Bomb, Congress is considering a three-year extension of the draft, children are still starving, or dying of TB, in Europe and Asia, hysteria in the United States is rising . . . and you won't get up again. Pfui!"

"I don't care," said the Pacifist desperately, "I've worked my head off passing out leaflets and worn out three pairs of trousers sitting in meetings, and where did it get me?" He sat up and said earnestly, "Can't you at least give me some assurance that all this effort will come to something?"

The Guardian Angel's wings spread majestically. "No," he said firmly, "I promise you nothing except a hard fight. Maybe there'll be glorious peace in the world, and maybe you'll go down fighting into chaos; but. . . ."

The Pacifist jumped out of bed abruptly and the Guardian Angel lost his balance and landed on the floor with a thud. "I'll do it!" said the Pacifist loudly. "Come on, get up, there's not a minute to lose!" He rushed out into his living room, followed more sedately by the Guardian Angel, who found him poring over a copy of FELLOWSHIP.

"You know," the Pacifist said without looking up, "I haven't read much pacifist literature lately, and I've got to catch up. Here's *Essays from Tula*, by Tolstoy ($3.00), and *Not By Might*, by A. J. Muste ($2.50) that I've meant to read and didn't get around to; and *Education for Peace*, by Herbert Read ($2.75), is terribly important—I never should have let that go; and that little book on *The Relevance of the Impossible*, by G. H. C. Macgregor (50c) is exactly what I need for my minister—he's just out of seminary, and he got a big dose of Niebuhr there. Maybe I can give him another slant. And just for myself, I'm going to get *The Way to Power and Poise*, by E. Stanley Jones, ($1.25) to use in my daily meditations. And gosh!" He leaped up again, and the Guardian Angel started nervously. "I've been meaning to send FELLOWSHIP to the town library and never did it." He got his checkbook and wrote busily. "While I'm at it I'll write a contribution to the FOR," he said over his shoulder. "And I'd better make it extra big. I'll give up something maybe."

The Guardian Angel nodded approvingly, then jumped as the Pacifist clapped him on the back. "So long," said the Pacifist. "I'm off to a meeting of my cell. They haven't seen me very often lately, but they will—and I'll mail these orders and checks at the same time." He bounded out the door.

The Guardian Angel stared after him dazedly; then slowly he began to grin, got up and brushed down his ruffled wings, and set off briskly on another job.